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PREFACE

121 This is one of five monographs prepared by the staff of the China Project at Stanford University in fulfillment of a twelve-month subcontract with the Human Relations Area Files, Incorporated, New Haven, Connecticut.

The main purpose of this monograph is to present insofar as possible a concise account of the social, economic, and political conditions and problems of the Southwest China Region, which is comprised of the provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan. Although primary emphasis is placed on developments since the Chinese Communists assumed the reins of government in the latter part of 1949, whenever necessary the region's past is touched upon.

114 It may be helpful to point out to readers unfamiliar with the Chinese source material used for the preparation of this monograph that, generally, official publications published before 1949 in Nanking or Chungking were of Nationalist origin, whereas those dated from 1949, unless their place of publication is Taipei, Hong Kong, or some other non-Communist area, are Communist sources. Moreove

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two sources, the Survey of China Mainland Press and Current Background, although prepared by the American Consulate General in Hong Kong, are compilations of translations from Chinese Communist publications; unless the citations contained therein are specifically attributed to American editors, they refer to translation from Communist newspapers and magazines and neither represent nor reflect the views of the United States Government. The critical use of Communist and pro-Communist sources has been the principal means of analyzing developments in Soviet Russia. Scholars of China are now obliged by circumstances to employ similar sources in their study of contemporary China.

The regional approach embodied in this monograph represents an attempt to conform with the suggestion of our Prime Contractor. Although certain topics which cannot be properly treated on a regional basis have been discussed in more general terms, the bulk of this monograph is comprised of regional information. Since Communist China is undergoing many rapid changes, the studies contained in this monograph should be brought up to date at frequent intervals.

This monograph is to be regarded as a cooperative project, and no attempt will be made to identify the authors of the studies included. It is enough to mention the members of our staff.

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II. THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM

114 668 In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, and most refugees from Communist China have come from the cities.

241 668 First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in operation, but these are few and have no immediate bearing on the farmer's work year. The most striking change in the farmer's life is the new network of associations which the government has imposed upon him and the daily barrage of advice and exhortation to which he is subjected. No longer does he cultivate his land in the manner of his ancestors with the assistance of his family, his clan, and his neighbors. He no longer sets the periods of work and of rest. The Communist leadership is determined that the peasant shall be transformed in three ways: (1) he must be made to produce more; (2) he must become a politically conscious, active supporter of the Communist regime, and (3) his attitudes and values must be radically changed.

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PREFACE

The work herewith presented to the public is the first of a series on West China. It deals with a circumscribed area in northwest Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang, Tibet and southwest Ssu-ch'uan inhabited by the Na-khi tribe known to the Chinese as Mo-so 麼些. While the region has been explored geographically in the strictest sense of the word, yet it includes areas, such as that of the Wu-so 五所 in southwestern Ssu-ch'uan, very little known, and visited at best by one two or three Europeans including the author.

Most explorers are content with a hurried reconnaissance of a given area, their aim being to cover as much territory as possible in the time at their disposal. Not so the author. I have spent twelve years exploring thoroughly the Na-khi inhabited part of Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang 西康 and adjacent areas; first as agricultural explorer of the United States Department of Agriculture of Washington, D.C., then for the National Geographic Society of the same city and finally on my own, when I could devote my time exclusively to the study of the Na-khi tribe, their literature and the land they occupy.

Before undertaking to write this work, I spent the major part of my savings collecting, first of all, the Chinese literature on West China and eastern Tibet, and second, all publications in European languages pertaining to this area. I secured the various editions of the topographies or T'ung-chih 通志 not only of the western provinces, but of all the eighteen provinces of China and its dependencies; I bought all the local gazetteers, Hsien-chih 縣, Chou-chih 州, and T'ing-chih 廳 of Yün-nan, Ssu-ch'uan, Kan-su, and Tibet, published by the Chinese authorities from the Ming days to the present. These western China gazetteers have become exceedingly rare due to the devastations of the Mohammedan rebellion, which lasted for nearly 25 years, when all the printing blocks were destroyed and editions, stored in the official Yamens of the various districts, were burnt. Such records as were no longer obtainable in the provinces, I had copied from unica found only in the Palace Library and the National Library of Peiping. The Catholic Mission Library of Zikawei near Shanghai, rich in gazetteers, had also consented to have its rare and precious books copied. My own library contains many rare works not to be found in other libraries in Asia, Europe or America.

While living in Li-chiang, the capital of the former Na-khi Kingdom, I had all important inscriptions on stelae copied, and personally photographed genealogical records of tribal chiefs, precious manuscripts, heirlooms dating back to the T'ang and Sung dynasties. In addition, I collected over 4,000 ancient Na-khi pictographic manuscripts. A number of these are of historic interest, while the remainder deal with the religious literature of the Na-khi which is akin to the Bön, the pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet.

My predilection for Chinese characters made me begin the study of the Chinese written language at the age of 15. It created a desire in me to explore the vast hinterland of China and to learn to know its history and geography at first hand. It caused me to study the ancient Na-khi language, now no more in use, but preserved in the pictographic literature, which has at last given up its secrets. Thus equipped, I undertook the task of delving into the history of this fascinating and wonderful country, which I covered

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on foot and horseback from Siam to southwestern Mongolia. In the pages of this work, I describe the Na-khi region as it passed in review before my eyes: a wealth of scenic beauty, marvellous forest, flowers and friendly tribes. Those years of travel and the fellowship of the tribal people who accompanied me on my many journeys will remain forever among the happiest memories of my life.

I owe a debt of gratitude not only to the institutions and societies that made these explorations possible, but also to the faithful members of the Na-khi tribe, fearless, honest and dependable at all times. To them, the success of my various expeditions is mainly due.

The historical part of this book is based on original Chinese works which it would be impossible to enumerate. In the copious notes, references are given to the works from which they were translated, perhaps not as fully as would be desirable; but those familiar with Chinese geographical and historical literature will have no difficulty in finding them. Many of the local gazetteers consulted may, however, be found only in my own library.

The photographs were taken by myself, mainly under the auspices of the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY of Washington, D. C., to the authorities of which I wish here to express my sincerest thanks for the permission to reproduce them. Others again were taken while I worked in the region on my own.

I beg the reader's indulgence and also that of the sinologues and of my many Chinese friends who will have occasion to consult this work. Their constructive criticism will not be resented, but is earnestly solicited. This book found shape under the most trying circumstances. I began the actual writing in 1934, not dreaming that serious interruptions would delay its completion for over a decade.

We were twice evacuated from Yün-nan when it was invaded by the Chinese Red Army and I was forced to send my entire library to the Indo-Chinese border. We packed again when Japanese bombers visited K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) and left death and destruction in their wake. To prevent possible destruction of my library, I moved to Dalat, Indo-China, where, after a year and a half of residence, it again became necessary to pack up and transfer my library to Honolulu. These many interruptions and the hectic weeks and months of delay form the most unpleasant part of my experiences.

I wish to express my thanks to the Trustees of the Harvard-Yenching Institute and to its director, Professor Serge Elisséeff, who approved the publication of this book and to the U. S. Army Map Service for the printing of the maps included with the accompanying Gazetteer.

As consultant to the U. S. Army Map Service in 1944–1945 I was privileged to correct the aeronautical charts of western China and eastern Tibet and to examine original Chinese maps of the border region. The latter leave much to be desired; the Chinese characters used on these maps often vary considerably from those actually employed in the region itself, nor is the topography to be relied on. This is of course mainly due to the difficulty of travel in the borderlands, to the lack of communication, and partly to hostile inhabitants.

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made and a sub-prefect was sent, subject to Li-chiang fu. To-day it is a separate magistracy known as Chung-tien hsien.

The same work, Vol. 18, ch. 25, fols. 5b to 6a, states that Chung-tien in ancient days had no wall, but in the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an earth wall was built, two li in circumference, with four gates. It was rebuilt in the 24th year of Ch'ien-lung (1759) by the sub-prefect Hai Mi-na 海米納.

The Chung-tien district is 360 li broad and 546 li long, that is, from north to south. It is 1,455 li from K'un-ming. East to the Li-chiang border is a distance of 230 li and west to the Wei-hsi 維西 border 130 li. South to the Li-chiang border 284 li and north to the Li-t'ang T'u ssu 裏塘土司 border in Hsi-k'ang 280 li. This is reckoned from the town of Chung-tien. South-east to the borders of the Li-chiang territory is 150 li, north-east to the Li-t'ang border 120 li. South-west to the Wei-hsi border 140 li, and north-west to the Wei-hsi district border 210 li.

There are two towns in the district, the larger being the prefectural city called Ta-chung-tien 大中甸. South 80 li is the territory of Hsiao-chung-tien 小中甸.

Eighty-five li north of the city of Chung-tien is the village of Ko-tsa 格咱 and 200 li west of the city is the village of Ni-hsi 泥西. It is also stated that the land is high and mountains are numerous; frost and snow descend early, the winds are biting and cold; the soil is hard, and the five grains cannot be grown. The peasants are poor and the land unfertile; the lamas are of great importance and are the real rulers of the country.

A large lamasery is situated at the foot of Fo-p'ing Shan 佛屏山 (Buddha screen Mountain) 10 li north of the city. It belongs to the Yellow lama sect and is called Kuei-hua Ssu 歸化寺 (Lamasery of the transformation). In 1901 there were 1,226 lamas living in the monastery. Other lamaseries are: Pai-chi Ssu 白雞寺, Ch'eng-en Ssu 承恩寺 and Ta-pao Ssu 大寶寺. The first belongs to the Yellow sect and is located near the city on the top of Chu Shan 主山, the second is more than 20 li east of the city and belongs to the Red sect, it has over thirty lamas. The third is 30 li south of the city and pertains to the Yellow sect.

It is extraordinary that nothing is to be found in the Chinese records which relates to the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr (Pei-ti 北地) and its marvellous limestone terrace, Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr.

I presume that owing to the difficulty travelers experience in reaching certain parts of the district, difficulties which are mainly physical, it has been neglected by the Chinese and therefore next to nothing is to be found in their records.

Few are the travelers who have visited the remote parts of Chung-tien territory and those more difficult of access, as, for example, Bbĕr-ddĕr, which has been reached only by the Dutch missionary Kok, James Bacot, Handel-Mazzetti and the present writer. Handel-Mazzetti doubts that Bacot traversed the entire Yangtze gorge which cuts the Li-chiang snow range, but thinks that he probably penetrated it as far as Pen-ti-wan, to which place one can use pack mules. It is certainly strange that in his book, LE TIBET REVOLTE, Bacot is silent about the narrowest part of the gorge, known as the Hu-t'iao-chiang, and the villages beyond, inhabited not by Mo-so but by Chinese from Ssu-

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S ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the
● 114 Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi en-
484 foncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĔR-DDĔR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

S
131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The mas-
S ST sive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.

[184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious
771 customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion
S of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang dis-
ST trict, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

[764] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here
[755] the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the
S finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beauti-
ST ful grove of old oaks.

177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and
[579] unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off.
S Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.
631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

000 matters as cleanliness or use of pure drinking water) are not integrated in the fabric of the established code as essential parts of a continuing usage, such measures are short-lived. People fall back into their old ways, not because they are stupid or reactionary, but because there is no satisfaction in fragments of information or prescription from a world that is not their own.

The individualistic approach, so dear to the Western social reformer, also falls short of the real task. It attempts to reform a community or a whole society by rescuing a few from the trammels of ancient superstitions so that they may become leaders among their fellows in their striving for a better life. All they achieve, very often, is to estrange such persons altogether from their native community.

Success, according to our author, beckons when the propagators of new ideas and better practices cease to regard themselves as engaged in a perpetual conflict with outdated uses and pre-scientific habits of mind. Instead of asking people to change their ways, the public health officer and others like him should accept those ways with the respect due to a folk wisdom handed down through the generations. Social custom is not a dead thing to be reconstructed or added to, but has a life that permeates all its parts, so that progress can be achieved only through the development of the whole.

The author's attitude, thus, is somewhat different from that which we in the West have come to expect in Western-trained Chinese sociologists. He is not averse, as many of them are - or used to be - to discuss beliefs and customs which, when they manifest themselves in contemporary China, have too often been used by foreign writers to libel the Chinese people as hopelessly given over to superstition and incapable of rational thinking. Those beliefs and customs, those behavior forms so strikingly in contrast with rationally conceived social codes, are precisely what we must study if the old failures of the modernist are not to be endlessly repeated.

There is no cultural isolationism here, nor a desire to retreat from modern reality, as so many European scholars have done in this generation, in a mystic appeal to blood and soil. On the contrary, Dr. Hsu goes farther than most of his contemporaries in demanding for China a complete social freedom as the essential condition of any sort of advance.

> "The development of support for public health measures and scientific medicine depends ultimately upon a sound mental attitude. And a sound mental attitude depends upon the general training in sound scientific reasoning. In a society of slavery, or of caste, or of fate, even with all the industrial development in the world, sound scientific reasoning can never really hope to take a permanent root."

Therefore he looks to a free and industrialized society and the kind of education which it alone affords as the crucible in which the conflict between magic and modern science will find its natural and inevitable solution - not in the victory of science over tradition but in the interweaving of both in a new pattern of customs and uses, of habits and ideas.

114 The present monograph is one of a number of intensive recent studies made in war-time China by a group of scholars concerned to implement

both theory and the shaping of practical programs of reform with concrete, even graphic, data on current social situations. All of them significantly illustrate widely prevalent conditions of social change. In each instance only the author is responsible for statements of fact and opinion contained in his contribution. The present study was first distributed in mimeographed form for private circulation in China through the generous assistance of the British Consulate-General in Kunming and the Branch of the Press Attaché's Office of the British Embassy in that city. The present edition, by the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations, is intended, more especially, for distribution in North America.

114

W. L. HOLLAND
Research Secretary

September, 1943

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 known each other at Eton, for he was in the eleven while I was still a "lower boy" and would not have dared to address one who had attained such a distinguished position. After a few years in a cavalry regiment, he had thrown up his commission and come out to China as a missionary.

Two of the others whom we met were contemplating a journey further in to Tibet and hoped to establish a mission station at Ba-t'ang.

We also went to see M^gr Giraudeau, the Bishop of the French Tibetan mission, and thanked him for the many kindnesses we had received from the French missionaries.

366 Ta-chien-lu is the great trading mart of eastern Tibet. Furs, medicine, and musk are the exports to China, and tea is the principal import into Tibet. The amount of tea drunk in Tibet must be very large for the size of the population, for everyone, however poor, drinks it con-

245 stantly, in fact at every meal. A certain quantity of P'u-êrh tea is imported from Yün-nan, but by far the greater part of the tea for Tibet passes through Ta-chien-lu.

It is grown in western Ssŭ-ch'uan chiefly in the Ya-chou Fu district. All that is imported into Tibet is of a very coarse quality and is largely adulterated with sticks. The cost of carriage to distant parts of Tibet is so large that a good quality of tea could be sold there only at a prohibitive cost.

●114 Mr A. de Rosthorn has published a pamphlet[1] on the
439 subject of the tea trade and this probably contains the most accurate information available. He estimates the weight of the annual import through Ta-chien-lu as 108,780 piculs, which comes to fourteen and a half million English pounds.

He discusses the question of whether tea can ever be profitably imported from Assam into Tibet, but comes to the conclusion that the Chinese tea, adulterated as it is with 65 per cent. of twigs and leaves of other plants, and sold at Ba-t'ang at 5½*d.* and at Lhasa at 11*d.* a pound will continue to hold its own, except possibly in parts of Tibet very remote from China.

[1] *On the Tea Cultivation in Western Ssŭ-ch'uan*, by A. de Rosthorn. London, Luzac & Co., 1895.